

## Message Text

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11

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 OMB-01 IO-12 AID-20 IGA-02 MC-02 ACDA-19

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-09 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12 T-03 EUR-25 GAC-01

EB-11 COME-00 AGR-20 RSR-01 /194 W  
----- 098349

R 170800 Z MAR 73

FM AMCONSUL BOMBAY

TO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3694 X

AMCONUL MADRAS

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

C O N F I D E N T I A L BOMBAY 0568

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y P A R A 2 L I N E F O U R

P A R A F O U R B L I N E E I G H T

P A R A F O U R C L I N E O N E

P A R A 4 C L I N E T E N

P A R A F I V E L I N E S E V E N

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MILITARY SALES TO PAKISTAN: BOMBAY REACTION

1. SUMMARY: OUR INITIAL REACTION OF SITUATION IS THAT WE CAN  
LIKELY RIDE THIS STORM OUT WITHOUT MAJOR SET - BACK, OUR DESIRE  
IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH INDIA.

2. THUS FAR REACTION BOMBAY AND REGION TO EXTENT WE ABLE SAMPLE  
HAS RANGED FROM SHARPLY CRITICAL ( AS REFLECTED SOUNDINGS TAKEN  
WITH BOTH CONGRESS AND OPPOSITION MLA' S) TO DISAPPOINTMENT AND  
DISTRESS ON PART OUR FRIENDS WITH US TIES AND INTERESTS.  
OUR DECISION EASE EMBARGO ON MILITARY SALES PAKISTAN/ INDIA, HAS  
BEEN GENERALLY VIEWED HERE AS LIKELY MAKE PAKISTAN IS MORE  
INTRANSIGENT IN ARRIVING AT INDO- PAK RAPPROCHMENT AND AS  
ENCOURAGING AND ASSISTING PAKISTANI MILITARY BUILD- UP WHICH  
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IN THEIR VIEW WILL INEVITABLY POSE SECURITY THREAT TO INDIA.  
IN CONTEXT POSSIBLE IRANIAN AND CHINESE SUPPORT. AS IN 1971,  
DISTINCTION DRAWN BETWEEN LETHAL AND NON- LETHAL END ITEMS IN  
THEIR VIEW AS A DISTICTION WITHOUT MEANING AND THEY SEE IN THIS  
MORE CONFIRMATION THEIR CONCERN USG STILL SIDING  
WITH PAKISTAN AGAINST INDIA.

3. DESPITE FOREGOING AND PREDICTABLE REACTION, INTERESTING POINT  
IS THAT UNLIKE UNIFORMLY CRITICAL EMOTIONAL REACTION 1971 REACTION  
THUS FAR CURRENT MOVE HAS BEEN FAR MORE MUTED AND CAUTIOUS AS

REFLECTED IN EDITORIAL REACTION AND COMMENTS MADE TO US THAN  
WE MIGHT HAVE SUPPOSED. BOTH THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILIES AS WELL  
AS VERNACULAR PRESS WHILE UNIFORMLY CRITICAL HAVE INJECTED NOTE  
OF CAUTION INTO DIALOGUE URGING THAT INDIA NOT OVER- REACT  
AND THAT USG DECISION NOT PROMPT GOI MOVE CLOSER USSR.

4. WE ATTRIBUTE LOW- KEY REACTION THUS FAR TO FOLLOWING FACTORS:

A) AMBASSADOR'S COMMENTS PRESS FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH PM.  
PRESS COVERAGE ACCORDED THEM SUGGESTING CORDIAL UNDERSTANDING  
TONE OF MEETING APPEARS TO HAVE HELPED CAP MORE EMOTIONAL  
OUTBURSTS. IMPLICIIT IN THIS IS SUGGESTION AS WELL THAT PM HAS  
DECIDED TO PLAY THIS ONE IN LOW- KEY AND NOT OVER- REACT HAS NOT  
BEEN LOST HERE ON THOSE SECTORS TRADITIONALLY TAKING THEIR  
CUE FROM HER. IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO AMBASSADOR'S APPOINTMENT  
AS REPRESENTING TANGIABLE EXPRESSION PRESIDENT'S DESIRE FOR BETTER  
RELATIONS INDIA UNIFORMLY HELD HERE AND IMPORTANT ELEMENT IS  
THIS SITUATION.

B) ANNOUNCEMENT OF LIFTING OF SUSPENSION \$87.6 MILLION NON-  
PROJECT AID ITEM, WHILE DESCRIBED AS A " SOP" AND WHICH BROKE  
BEFORE EASING OF EMBARGO ON MILITARY SALES FULLY DIGESTED, HAS  
HELPED  
THROW MORE CRITICAL ELEMENTS HERE OFF- BALANCE AND TAKEN SOME OF  
THE STING OUT IN SECTORS NORMALLY MORE FRIENDLY TO US.  
( RANGNEKAR'S MARCH 17 EDITORIAL IN MARCH 17 ISSUE ECONOMIC TIMES  
" US AID LOLLIPOP" SUGGESTS GOI REJECT AID, WE SHALL BE TALKING  
TO HIM ABOUT THIS) FACT IS THAT INDIA NEEDS THIS AID AND ECONOMIC  
PRESSURES ARE MOUNTING AND " SELF- SUFFICIENCY" HAS BECOME A  
LONGER- RANGED GOAL RATHER THAN  
AN IMMEDIATE REALITY IN THINKING OF BUSINESS COMMUNITY HERE  
:) ONE IMPORTANT REASON FOR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN 1971 AND PRESENT  
IS THAT ADVOCATES OF NORMALIZATION IN RECENT MONTHS HAVE URGED  
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THIS MORE FOR PRAGMATIC REASONS THAN EMOTIONAL SENTIMENTAL AND OTHER GROUNDS ( SHARING DEMOCRATIC IDEALS. ETC..) THIS PRAGMATISM IN OUR VIEW DERIVES FROM FOLLOWING: INDIA HAS HAD TO LOOK TO US FOR FOOD GRAINS IN RECENT PAST AND IF MONSOON BAD IT MAY HAVE TO LOOK FOR SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE. AS ECONOMIC PRESSURES ON LOWER INCOME STRATA STEADILY MOUNT " SELF SUFFICIENCY" BECOMES MORE EPHEMERAL AND SUGGESTS TO BUSINESSMEN AT LEAST THAT INDIA PERHAPS NEEDS THE US MORE THAN THE US NEEDS INDIA. SECONDLY A BETTER RELATIONSHIP WITH US IS NEEDED TO OFF- SET INDIAN' S GROWING TIES WITH USSR WHICH GOING LITTLE TOO FAR FOR MANY MORE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN CONGRESS AND BUSINESS, AGRICULTURAL WORLD. THIS ONE FACTOR CONTRIBUTING TO MAJOR CONGRESS DEFEAT IN RECENT BOMBAY MUNICIPAL ELECTION ALTHOUGH MOUNTING ECONOMIC PRESSURES GENERALLY CONSIDERED PRIMARY ONE. THERE IS NO DOUBT AS WELL THAT INDIAN PUBLIC REMAINS GENERALLY WELL DISPOSED TOWARDS US BUT THIS LESS RELEVANT FACTOR AND ONE UNLIKELY ENTER SIGNIFICANTLY INTO DECISION- MAKING PROCESS.

5. BELIEVE SAME PRAGMATISM THAT HAS GONE INTO ADVACACY NORMALIZATION  
INDO- US RELATIONS RECENT MONTHS WAS LIKELY CONTINUE PERTAIN AND IF ANYTHING INCREASE IN CALIDITY AS PM' S VULNERABILITY INCREASING ECONOMIC PRESSURES CONTINUE MOUNT AND SHE INCREASINGLY FEELS MORE CONSERVATIVE BACKLASH IN REGARD TO FURTHER MOVES TOWARD USSR AND INTRODUCTION STATE CONTROLS ON BALANCE AND WITH CAVEAT BASIS ASSESSMENT ADMITTEDLY LIMITED, OUR INITIAL READING SITUATION HERE SUGGESTS THAT WE MAY BE ABLE TO RIDE THIS ONE OUT WITHOUT MAJOR SET- BACK OUR DESIRE IMPROVE RELATIONS.  
BANE

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\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* CONFIDENTIAL

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